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ABSTRACT

The report summarizes efforts of the Institute for Nonviolent Social Change toward the planning and design of nonviolent activities and programs capable of bringing about social change as discussed at a conference held in Atlanta, June 11th and 12th, 1971. To bring about a synthesis of various viewpoints and ideas this meeting was attended by not only activists of nonviolence, but also by distinguished scholars of the subject, representatives from other movements, and figures from politics, law, and public life. The conference dealt with a wide range of topics, issues, and perspectives, and descriptions of the latest academic research and firsthand acccunts of movements and actions in prcgress are presented. In this final report a brief summary of a proposal for a project for the institute is given; a discussion of an Advisory Council meeting held to discuss the institute's purposes and programs is presented; publications of Martin Luther King and compilations of the Center are discussed; the problem of vigilence in the public schools is considered; the involvement of regional centers and universities in cooperative programs for nonviolent social change is reviewed; and strategies for mitigating violence in American factories are examined. (SJM)

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INSTITUTE FOR NONVIOLENT SOCIAL CHANGE

FINAL REPORT

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GRANT NUMBER-OEG-0-70-4963 (508)

To: The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

From: The Martin Luther King, Jr. Center for Social Change
671 Beckwith Street, SW
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

SP005704

Thomas Porter
Program Director

Roberta Saunders
Assistant Program Director

June 30, 1972

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The Martin Luther King, Jr. Center For Social Change through an examination of the philosophy and operative nature of nonviolence in the present day context has developed a new programmatic thrust, as a result of its activities to further the work of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. The research grant obtained from the Office of Education has enabled the Center to acquire a staff to conduct the necessary research for the purpose of planning and designing programs capable of brining about social change.

The Center has engaged in a number of activities in its attempt to fully explore the different aspects of violence in many of our institutions and to subsequently devise means of correcting these ills. Several meetings and a major conference were held in an attempt to tap the resources of the national community; thus, encouraging them to pool their talents in an effort to develop sound strategies to counteract this violence.

A conference of the Institute for Nonviolent Social Change was held in Atlanta on June 11 and 12, 1971. Though long overdue, it was a very timely conference considering the critical issues yet to be settled. This meeting was attended by scholars and political activists alike, all committed to the concept of social change. Probably never in the

history of the nonviolent movement has such a group been brought together. Along with some of the most important activists of nonviolence it included distinguished scholars of the subject, representatives from other movements and figures from politics, law, and public life. This represented an attempt to further the purpose of the Institute, the uniting of diverse groups engaged in social action to bring about a synthesis of various viewpoints and ideas. The participants were:

Mrs. Arthur Bagley

Dr. Hugo Bedau, Professor of Philosophy and Author on nonviolence.

Mr. Randolph Blackwell, Director, Southern Rural Action, Inc.

Mrs. Katherine L. Camp, Woman's International League For Peace and Freedom

Mrs. Septima Clark, Charleston, S.C. activist in nonviolence

Mr. Stoney Cooks, Executive Director, SCLC

Dr. Harold DeWolf, Wesley Theological Seminary

Mrs. Marian Wright Edelman, Washington Research Project

Mrs. Christine King Farris

Dr. Robert L. Green, Assistant Provost, Director Center For Urban Affairs, University of Mich.

Father James Groppi, noted activist in nonviolence.

Rev. Jessie Jackson, National known activist and Director of Chicago Operation Breadbasket.

Rev. Thomas Kilgore, activist and clergyman

Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr., President of The Martin Luther King, Jr. Memorial Center

Ms. Fay Knapp, American Friends Service Comm.

Rev. Bernard Lafayette, SCLC

Rev. James Lawson, Memphis, Tenn., activist in nonviolence

Miss Dora McDonald, SCLC, Sec. to Dr. King during his life.

Ms. Diane Nash

Mr. Jack O'Dell, editor, Freedomways Magazine

Dr. Julius Scott, Director, Martin Luther King, Jr. Memorial Center

Dr. Mulford Q. Sibley, noted author on nonviolence and pacifism

Mr. Harry Wachtel, legal council to Mrs. King and SCLC

Mrs. Lenora Wachtel

Dr. Harris Wafford, President, Bryn Mawr College

Rev. Andrew Young, Chairman, Community Relations Committee, Atlanta

The two day conference/workshop was devoted to the development of a grand strategy for the institutionalization of nonviolence in this decade. The conference dealt with a wide range of issues and perspectives, and descriptions of the latest academic research and firsthand accounts of movements and actions in progress were presented.

Among the topics covered were "Economic Development as Nonviolent Social Change," "Nonviolent Social Change as a Political Strategy," "Education and Violence," "The International Implications of Nonviolence," "The Relevance of Nonviolence in the 70's," and "The Future of Nonviolence." There were over fifteen major presentations, supplemented by serious and thoroughgoing discussions of each. One of the results from this conference was the development of ideas which could be acted upon by the institution.

The Institute also continuously engaged in basic research activities, studying areas closely related to the goals and purposes of the Center. Several articles and papers dealing with the importance of the Institute and its most likely role resulted from these general research activities. One such paper was written by a staff member to stimulate discussion on the topic of polarization and alliance and what role the Center can play. Here is a brief summary of a proposal for a project for the Institute of Nonviolent Social Change.

Brief Summary

1) The struggle for social change is faced with a crucial problem -- Polarization and mutual hostility among the social groups in America. Whether the struggle is against war, racism, pollution or economic injustice, the antagonism between black and white, student and

community prevents serious progress in winning reforms from the major institutions in society. This is particularly unfortunate because the majority of Americans have interests in common and many reforms would benefit all.

2) The Institute can play a role in solving this problem. Because it has prestige from the key figures who support it, and yet is not tied to a particular key constituency, it can become a center for the right kind of coalition politics. Concretely, it can be the catalyst, bringing together forces to work for the basic reforms that will help black and white. This is a role no organization is playing and it is one which the Institute has the prestige and power to play.

3) A concrete proposal is that the Institute sponsor a conference on the issue of corporations and society, inviting the key leaders of unions, the black movement, the consumer and ecology movements, etc. This is an issue which all the groups can agree about and formulate joint demands. It is also a "hot" issue, as the recent cover story in Newsweek Magazine showed. The point of the conference would be to define common interests and search for the ways to work together toward a solution.

4) If this conference is successful, it will be both a contribution to the problem and also strengthen and advance the Institute itself.

In an attempt to capitalize on the results of the conference and the research activities, a meeting of the

Advisory Council was held to discuss the purpose and program of the Institute. Some of the possible purposes discussed were:

1. "To continue the unfinished ministry of Martin Luther King, Jr.

2. To demonstrate how nonviolence worked yesterday and can work today through study, research and training for action.

3. To study and define the theory, history, and technique of social change;

4. To expose the deficiencies in the status quo and in violence. . .

5. To apply nonviolence to mass action and to the ongoing struggle for justice and liberation.

In keeping with the purpose or goal of the Center certain programs were discussed: (Specifically) training, educational activities, (lectures, seminars, workshops, a teacher-training center, consultation in many fields, laboratory-training schools, speakers' bureau); a think-tank, regional centers, publishing efforts, and research activities. Additionally they discussed the possibility of: training people in organizing nonviolent action; developing coalitional activities; facing the possibilities for new black political styles, caucuses, and coalitions; activities centered around the film "King: A Filmed Record . . . Montgomery to Memphis," and the awarding of an annual Martin Luther King, Jr. Nonviolent Peace Prize; and developing a national Martin Luther King, Jr. Lecture Series.

Additionally Advisory Council members considered means or methods of implementing these programs:

1. Develop a network of nonviolent regional centers to carry on the work of the Institute in a regional manner.

2. To recruit and train persons for the struggle.

3. To work on the problems of personal violence and nonviolence.

4. To become a spiritual-cultural resource center for Dr. King's dream.

5. To see if nonviolence can be moved into mainstream institutions such as the school, university, and church.

The Council was also concerned about the involvement of other programs of the Center in the activities of the Institute, especially The Library-Documentation Project. They also included in their discussion longer-range objectives: A Library-Documentation Center on nonviolence; develop a journal on nonviolence; form and train a paxitary; a think-tank to conceive of new models for the society; research-action projects; develop a network of people across the country to support the efforts of our movement people around the legislative process, especially in Washington; structure a follow-up and network for the multitude which has come through the various training operations such as the citizenship training program of SCLC; a think-tank which develops strategies for social change; making training films based on Dr. King and The Movement; special projects such as the publications of all of Dr. King's papers, sermons, etc.; boycott center; an inter-

personal Technical Center; deal with violence in the schools, among black people; critical consultations on such themes as the black students in the white university or the transformation of black rage; basic research-action projects around black-white students in school together; an annual January Event of some kind to accentuate, the Institute, Nonviolence and Social Change; a curriculum of nonviclence for schools, Universities and churches. More specific immediate programs were also undertaken such as:

Involve the Institute in significant actions with Coretta King, Andy Young and other members of the Institute.

A January Event- a network, coalitional effort

Consultations (Fall-Winter)

Black students in the white university transforming black rage into energy for social change

Research-action (Fall-Winter-Spring)

Violence in Atlanta Schools
Black-white student confrontation models

HEW development

Towards a Paxitary

Consult with SCLC on training contracts

A communications venture - publishing June papers in established journals, planning a Martin Luther King publishing event.

The attempt of the Institute to implement its programs led to the total integration of all of The Martin Luther King, Jr. Memorial Center's components into a single entity. This integration resulted in the development of a programmatic thrust common to The Oral History-Documentation Project, and The Institute for Nonviolent Social Change. Consequently, the name of The Martin Luther King, Jr. Memorial Center was changed to The Martin Luther King, Jr. Center For Social Change. Thus, the research planning grant enabled the Center itself to evolve to its next logical stage of development.

In additon to our basic research activity, we have established affiliations with various leaders in related and relevant disciplines who have common goals and purposes similar to those of the Center. We have established contact with individuals whose activity can be closely coordinated with ours to implement programs for achieving the crucial reforms and changes in a nonviolent way. Additionally, we have used these funds to disseminate results of our activities in an effort to involve other groups and individuals in our attempt to develop new flexible strategies based upon Dr. King's principles, which are pliant enough to deal with ever changing situations.

Publications

In keeping with our goal of encouraging others to adopt the philosophy and concepts of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

we have attempted to make available for mass consumption various writings and speeches of the late civil rights leader. The planning grant enabled us to research his papers, documents, to edit his papers and speeches, and in general to prepare them for publication. As a result of this activity, a number of his speeches and writings have been designated for future publication. Since one of our aims is to convince others of the relevance of his philosophy of non-violent social change, we plan to include as one of our most important projects, the regular publication of his most timely works, which deal with the major issues confronting today's world. Early this year The Martin Luther King, Jr. Center For Social Change published a collection of five of his speeches in booklet form, SPEECHES OF MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.:

a) "A New Sense of Direction"

b) "A Testament of Hope"

c) "The Nobel Peace Prize"

d) "Letter From A Birmingham Jail"

e) "I Have A Dream"

Most recently the Center has also compiled and printed some of his most relevant quotations taken from his major works dealing with the ares of politics, peace, and black consciousness, entitled: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. TODAY.

Another purpose of our publication venture is the development of an organ of communication between the masses and contemporary leaders active in researching and implementing programs for social change. Therefore, this venture will also include the publication of various speeches and writings of both scholars, political activists, and other relevant figures. The collection of timely materials produced by national figures and individuals with relatively limited visibility for future publication has already begun. The Center has already published and distributed on a mass scale a collection of the four major speeches and excerpts from four others delivered at the June 10th Conference on Nonviolent Social Change. Our first newsletter also was printed and immediately put into circulation on April 19, 1972. This will be a quarterly publication to keep individuals and organizations on our mailing list abreast of the developments and activities taking place at the Center.

The staff of the Center is continuously studying the history of social change and analyzing current social problems. After pinpointing the areas where the need is critical they are adapting and refining techniques for bringing about the desired change. The results of research, study, and theory

will be directly applied in mobilizing mass actions for change. The planning grant also enabled us to engage in activities relevant to obtaining support for our programs once they were developed. We have already begun to implement certain of these programs, and we will continue to seek additional support to implement others which are equally important.

Violence in The Public Schools

The problem of violence in public schools throughout the United States grows in magnitude daily. One of our goals is to counteract this violence by designing educational programs and curricula to develop a committment in students and non-students to nonviolent strategies and the skills to implement these strategies. With inputs from renowned authorities in the field of Urban Education, such as Dr. Robert L. Green, and under the guidance and direction of Mr. Thomas J. Porter, who is skilled and knowledgeable in the area of teacher training, we are attempting to determine the conditions that contribute to disruption and violence in the schools. Cooperating with The Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Center has used the Atlanta School System as the focal point of a study to assess the causes of violence in the schools. The findings will be the basis for developing strategies to alleviate violence-provoking conditions in the schools. Creating and implementing curricula on nonviolence will be an integral part

of this program.

After testing a pilot program in the Atlanta schools, the Center and SCLC will publicize the findings and make them available to school communities throughout the country. In addition, the Center will analyze the public education desegregation process to find ways in which desegregation can be accomplished without further violence.

As a result of our activities and research in this area a proposal dealing with the socialization of black students on white campuses and white students on black campuses has already been funded by the Danforth Foundation. We expect to begin working with students and faculty in the public schools and on college campus this Fall to alleviate these explosive and disruptive situations.

Regional Centers and Cooperating University Programs

College and university campuses are ideal targets for continuing analyses of the issues of violent social disruption and nondestructive social change. Typically, the approaches that exist are theoretical and academic and tend to be crisis oriented. An urgent need exists for a structure in which these issues can be systematically discussed by college students and outstanding practitioners of nonviolence. The Center plans to bring together students and faculty for a series of lectures, seminars, and workshops in nonviolent social change.

Another aspect of the university programs will be concerned with the problem of the socialization of black students, particularly in predominately white institutions. Black studies programs have not proven to be the panacea for these problems.

Still another dimension of the program involves the creation of autonomous centers for research and study in nonviolent social change in universities and colleges across the country. The Center is acting as the catalyst communication center and promotional agent for the development of these regional centers, both here and abroad. Located at universities and schools, and also at trade union headquarters, churches and other non-academic centers, they will form an overall network for studying and teaching contemporary applications of nonviolence. For example, the Center For Nonviolent Social Change has already developed a cooperative relationship with the Michigan State University College of Urban Development, which is directed by Dr. Robert I. Green, acting Dean. The Center and the College are exchanging staff, information, and resources.

Martin Luther King, Jr., Clubs

In the late 1950s and through the 1960s, the civil rights movement provided many people, black and white, with the most substantive educational experience of their lives. Young people had the opportunity and the responsibility to apply their high

school and college training to solving pressing social problems. One of the greatest tragedies since Dr. King's death is the loss of hope and the feeling of despair experienced by so many of this nation's young people. These feelings are manifested most in the increase in drug addiction and the related increase in crime and violence.

The Martin Luther King, Jr., Clubs will offer students meaningful outlets to contribute to the struggle for human rights. For example, the mobilization of the youth vote in this year's presidential election is of primary importance, and the Clubs are logical centers for local voter registration. drives.

Violence in the Factories

Violence in America has been examined from many perspectives in recent years. However, one crucial area that has been ignored is that of the growing violence in America factories. The general public is not really aware of the extent or severity of this violence nor is it aware of the problems it causes union officials, mangement, and, of course, the millions of factory workers.

There are approximately 2.7 million blacks in unions today thereby making it the largest integrated group in the United States. In basic industries, blacks constitute about 25 percent of the labor force and in several steel and auto-

mobile plants 75 percent of the workers are black. This increase in black and other minority employment has had a profound impact upon problems in the factories. The growing use of drugs by factory workers, both black and white, compounds the problem.

The Center For Nonviolent Social Change is seeking concreta and practical approaches to mitigating violence in the factories. The strategies which work to reduce the level of violence in specific situations are being researched. Basically, the Center will develop skilled interpreters of nonviolent tactics and will make guidelines and resources available to unions and management. In addition, the Center will employ the techniques and expertise in reconciliation developed in the civil rights movement. A core of nonviolent counselors who are free from financial or political conflicts of interest are being identified and could be an objective and persuasive force in reconciliation. Information about the self defeating nature of violence and practical alternatives to violence will also be made available to labor and management.

The Center as part of its planning effort designed a Project to study this violence and developed a proposal which will be funded by The National Institute of Mental Health. Activity relevant to this study will begin September, 1972.

Center For Economic Action

Throughout history, economic action has been demonstrated to be one of the most powerful and most effective weapons of nonviolent action. The American Revolution, the American Indian independence movement, and the civil rights movement have all relied heavily on economic actions. The first struggle led by Martin Luther King, Jr., in Montgomery, Alabama, was a campaign of economic "non-cooperation with evil." In Birmingham, Alabama, economic pressure was used as the chief offensive in a frontal attack on descrimination. For almost four months, 250,000 Birmingham citizens bought nothing but food and medicine literally stopping the commerce in that city. This tactic was highly effective in bringing about much needed change not only in that city, but across the country.

There are many examples of effective uses of economic action, but the technique must be studied and perfected to increase its utility as an instrument for social change. Despite its impressive history, no one has taken the steps to perfect the use of economic action to bring about change. Each new campaign must start at the beginning to develop the organization and expertise necessary for success. Economic action, particularly on a national scale, requires the highest levels of organization and knowledge. Experience has shown that without serious planning and organizing, even the most deserving and necessary actions can fail. This understanding has led to the

to the establishment of a Center for Economic Action (CEA) within the Center for Nonviolent Social Change.

The first national organization of its kind, the Center for Economic Action will coordinate, assist, and otherwise attempt to insure successful use of economic pressure in struggles for human dignity. Through a national network of organizations and individuals, the CEA will be ready to move instantly in support of a legitimate request for aid. Specialized groups of economists and other professionals will analyze and evaluate proposed project. With this kind of aid, the resources, contacts, and methods to influence institutions will be at the disposal of the movement. The CEA will also train and provide activists competent in the various facets of economic pressure.

The CEA will rise to the challenge of meeting the complex needs and determing strategies in the struggle for justice and in the 1970s. It will serve all movements -- the black freedom movement, the peace movement, the environmental quality movement, and the consumer movement. The power of millions of black and white Americans will be brought together to move in an effective and militant nonviolent action.

One struggle which is considered of special importance is the ongoing work of Cesar Chavez and the California farm workers. Leaders of the Center for Nonviolent Social Change have felt a deep sympathy and desire to support this struggle. Last year, Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Reverend Andrew J. Young

went to California to protest the jailing of Chavez. In recent weeks, Mrs. King, the Reverend Young, Mr. Porter, and others, traveled to California to visit the farm workers. Discussion was begun as to the role the Center might play in the farm workers' struggle. Although very modest in scope, the Center has provided some aid for the farm workers in the form of a letter from Mrs. King to a company president, and by providing several contacts for the field workers in the southeast.

Of course, in any struggle such as this, which is already national in scope and highly expert in the methods of economic action, the role of the Center for Economic Action would be totally supportive. The CEA would make available whatever resources it could martial in the black community, placing them at the disposal of the farm workers.

As staff is added and practical work is expanded, the Center for Economic Action will start to play its transforming role. Deeply democratic in its nature and a key weapon in the nonviolent arsenal, it is a fitting memorial to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and will perpetuate the movement for which he gave his life.